main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /kása ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čá^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čačí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čá^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čá^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Heverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [~~"just cousin"~~] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

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In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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during the whole affair. The commission then took the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small shelter or rancho up a small stream. Meanwhile, the mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise him of the event. After several days, he left with some of his male relatives, looking for the couple. They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be brought to him because "she is crippled and not a good worker." [694] [On this point, the informant, Pedrito Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself and cannot make high-grade canoes.] [696]

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About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

A case of double desertion and incest. 684x

In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion and cohabitation with his first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished . . . The offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, . . . of the cat-o'nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes . . . The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins . . . (Barrett 1925:404-405).

At the present time there is a good deal of variation in the handling of incest; however, it is of general concern, and anyone will report such activity that he or she has witnessed. In one instance, the parties to the affair were not even aware that they were related. Ignorance was not a valid excuse however, and both kin and non-kin hastened to make the facts public. Punishment was swift and applied equally to both parties. Punishment is not however, always equal. In some instances the initiator of the affair is considered to have greater guilt and receives heavier

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /únʸi/ she and the boy were not related.

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As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

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When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Camerones was married to his /ápinatacúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /únʸi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

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Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

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resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /únʸi/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

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The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onzole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apínʸa/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the <u>fiesta</u>. The /ún^{y}i/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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in reducing punishment.

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleñas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ũn^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /ɕɑ̃ʔtala/ from the Río Cameron; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /ɲaˀl/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, held across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Do] Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta? His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /ɲaˀl/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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land is accuded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Aliaga became ill some time in 1957 and went to Esmeralda Grande to consult the *Chef de Jurados*, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspected Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identified Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. Lorenzo took this evidence to the area *fiscal*, Narváez, who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was present, but said very little in his own defense as Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs had been sold for five hundred sucres, and the *fiscal* ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred sucres to Lorenzo, fifty sucres to the witness, Ramón, and fifty sucres as a fine to the *fiscal*, who had lost two days work to attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncovered as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly. If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden, for instance, payment is made for the produce without question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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